1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1958) 1960
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Finally mention should be made of the fact that publication of this book, like that of the preceding volumes in the series of 'Selected Studies on Indonesia', has been made possible through a grant of the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (ZWO) to the Royal Tropical Institute.

THE EDITORS

Amsterdam, Summer 1959

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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ACKNOWLEDGMENT

A book about the life and traditions of the far-away island of Bali naturally involves in its preparation the co-operation of many companions on the island as well as scholars, translators, artists, and the makers of other books. I am grateful to all of them — too many to mention here. I am particularly indebted to Walter Spies and my many Balinese friends, especially my host, Gusti Alit Oka, and his family; to Edith J. R. Isaacs, who so patiently and sympathetically criticized and edited the manuscript; to Maimai Sze for invaluable assistance in the final preparation of the book; and to the Guggenheim Award which enabled me to make a second trip to Bali to complete and check my material. Rose Covarrubias' co-operation speaks for itself in the photographs which are so essential a part of the book.

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LP. V J

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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INTRODUCTION

TODAY ALMOST EVERYBODY has heard of Bali. To some it means 000
a smart place to go, one of the many ports in a round-the-world cruise; to others it brings mental images of brown girls with beautiful breasts, palm trees, rolling waves, and all the romantic notions that go to make a South Sea Island paradise. In general the popular knowledge of Bali ends there. But only six years ago, when I sailed with Rose for the remote island, no one seemed even to have heard of the place; we had to point it out on the map, a tiny dot in the swarm of islands east of Java. We had seen a splendid album of Bali photographs (*Bali*, by Gregor Krause), and gradually we had developed an irresistible desire to see the island, until one spring day of 1930 we found ourselves, rather unexpectedly, on board the *Cingalese Prince*, a freighter bound for the Dutch East Indies. In New York we were told that Malay was the language of the islands and that we must learn it to be understood there. So on the six weeks' voyage [122] through the Panama Canal, across the Pacific Ocean, and down the China Sea, we took daily lessons in elementary Malay from a sailor on board, a young Javanese who joined the ship to see the world, but who was disappointed because, he said, all he had seen was the sea around him, for when the boat docked he seldom had a chance to go ashore. When we reached Java we found we

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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like landscapes in which every branch and every leaf is carefully painted, done with the love of a Persian miniaturist, a Cranach, a Breughel or a Douanier Rousseau.

When I could speak fair Malay, I discovered it was not enough. Malay was the trade language between Balinese and foreigners, spoken mainly by the new generations of the towns, so I started to learn a little Balinese to be able to understand the most interesting people of the island – the older men and women – but just then we had to leave our new home to return to America. On the way back we stopped in Paris, where the Colonial Exposition was going on. There we found friends from Bali – the Tjokordes of Ubud, feudal lords of Spies's village, the leaders of the troupe of dancers and musicians that were the sensation of the exposition. With them I continued to study the difficult Balinese language, because I had then and there made up my mind to return to Bali as soon as possible. I had some random notes, and Rose had taken hundreds of photographs. Someone in Paris suggested publishing an album of the pictures, with text from the notes, which I later decided were disconnected and quite unsatisfactory. We had grown so homesick for Bali that the only thing left to do was to return, so in the summer of 1933, partly assisted by a generous scholarship from the Guggenheim Foundation and partly with our savings, we sailed back to Bali.

At first we were disappointed; the tourist rush was in full swing and we began to hear that missionaries, unknown in Bali up to the time we left, were making converts, and everybody talked of trouble on their account. In Den Pasar a great many women had taken to wearing clumsy blouses, the young were developing contempt for Balinese ways, and the people complained of poverty, another novelty in Bali. Dutch gold currency had gone up, and even there, where trade is unimportant, prices had crashed to bottom levels. Only twenty-five cents could be obtained for one of the great sheafs of rice that before brought ten times as much; a cow could be bought for five guilders, and a pig for one. The Balinese were unable to obtain cash to pay back taxes, and their

8:Hooykaas E-5 (ca. 1959) 1961 OF7 Bali OF7

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This monograph could not have been written without the assistance and cooperation that was extended to me. 000

The Governing Body of the School of Oriental and African Studies enabled my husband to proceed to Bali on sabbatical leave.

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Tjokorda Agung of Ubud placed an ideal residence at our disposal. 000

R. I. Tirtaamidjaja photographed the *lis* and the offering maker; him we are moreover grateful for the photo of Pura Prasada, Kapal, on the dust cover.

Ida Bagus Anom, of Ubud, made the drawings of the *lis* components.

Ida Bagus Pidada provided transport. [122]

The National Museum of Ethnology, Leiden, furnished photographs of the *ètèh-ètèh paduduan*.

Prof. Dr. J. Keuning, in 1960 a keeper at that museum, helped us to identify some objects.

Gusti Ngurah Kĕtut Sangka, of Krambitan (Tabanan), furnished the text of an additional *mantra lis* and a list of the components of the *lis* as made in Krambitan.

The Bali Museum, Dènpasar, allowed me access to copies of *lontar* manuscripts from the Gĕdong Kirtya, Singaradja.

Dr. R. Goris, librarian of the 'Fakultas Sastra', Sanglah, Dènpasar, lent me numerous books.

A. Brotherton, London, translated this rather involved text.

A. M. Verheggen of the Bureau of the Academy took great care in making the book looking attractive.

My husband helped me with texts, notes and proof reading.

SPELLING

Ch as in church; j as in jam; w throughout and never v; semivocals w and y. 193

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9:Geertz E-5 (1957-1958) 1959 OF7 Bali OF7

by ad hoc considerations which save the rule, but as providing valuable further clarification of the basic principles of social organization. From Njalian's criss-crossing structure we learn that the various component planes are to a very large degree independent of one another; from Tihingan we learn how the Balinese kinship system works when given full play and how the other planes then adapt to its dominance; from Blaju we learn what increased territorialism and a stress on caste imply for social integration. Each case we confront reveals something new about the implicit potentialities of the typological model we are constructing, sets new bounds on the range of variation possible within it; and it does so mainly not in terms of what is common but rather of what is unusual about it. In the same way that Cromwell has been adjudged the most typical Englishman of his time on the simple basis of his having been the oddest, so the general typological significance of any particular Balinese village lies primarily in its idiosyncracies.

NOTES

[1] The field work upon which this study is based was carried out from August 1957 to July 1958, with a three month break from January to March 1958, under a grant from the social sciences section of the Rockefeller Foundation, administered by the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. I am indebted to my research assistant E. Rukasah of the Fakultas Pertanian in Bogor, Indonesia, and to my wife Hildred Geertz for significant contributions to this study. This paper was written during a fellowship at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, and I am indebted to many of my colleagues at the Center for their criticism and comments on earlier drafts. For general views of Balinese culture, see Bateson and Mead (1942), Covarrubias (1936) and Korn (1936).

[2] For a more detailed description of Balinese temple forms, see Covarrubias (1936).

[3] A Balinese temple festival is described in detail in Belo (1953).

[4] It is also a legal community in that all the people in a single Kahyangan-Tiga congregation follow the same general rules regarding hamlet membership, marriage, inheritance, cooperative work, etc., rules which differ in detail from Kahyangan-Tiga group to Kahyangan-Tiga group. Sometimes this law community is headed by a Bendesa Adat, or customary law chief, who gives advice and direction on problems of custom. But, again, it is only in the odd case that this customary law community happens to coincide with a concrete political community.

[5] Total Balinese population for 1954 is estimated at 1,500,000, with a mean density around 700 per square mile. In the thickly settled areas of South Bali densities reach up over 1,800 per square mile (Raka 1955).

[6] In the Tabanan area bale are lacking in most hamlets, meetings being held in the open air beneath a banyan tree or in a temple courtyard.

[7] For descriptions of these ceremonies, see Covarrubias (1936).

[8] Only a minority of Sudra, considered to have higher prestige than the mass because of former affinal or political ties to higher status groups, have true address and reference titles. Most Sudra have no address title at all.

[9] In most Balinese villages, marriage is preferentially within the dadia and, if possible, with the father's brother's daughter.

[10] Economic specialization by village still persists to some degree in Bali, and is another factor to be considered in a full analysis of variation in Balinese village structure. It has been ignored here in favor of more formal considerations only for the sake of simplicity.

[11] The only time it has threatened to get completely out of bounds was at the time of the Indonesian general elections in 1955 when each of the two factions went armed in fear of massacre by the other, but no actual violence occurred.

[12] There is a third approach to typologizing, which is particularly prevalent in Dutch studies